632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

B Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry
103 in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a
115 kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
[173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

114 Wac
[585] [565] [784] [614] [286] exactly the same rites and all moves are the same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas' word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. IIB--Analyst]

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes. [622] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual [554] when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very 123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words [212] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could [515] read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 The last trick of the assistant was to ask 123 for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona. 103 I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1 Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2 See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

114 The island is fascinating for pure ethnography, as I always expected. I am tempted every time I look at the map to take time off and go into those far hills. The entire northwest half of 491 Flores has no roads except for the Reo-Ruteng one, and here would be good territory. The 793 priests know a lot, and really should be mobilized for an ethnographic survey. And many of them, for example Mommersteeg,[1] would like it. ●103 The kapitan insists that the proper name is 114 Tanah Djea, and indeed this is a town to the north of Nangapanda. Maybe the old authors confused dj with r.[1] [pastor at Todabelu --Analyst]

As for Wolowai, which Wouden[2] (check his source and track this down!) says is reported to be matrilineal, there is a place to the north of Nangapanda in the hills (thus in Tanah Rea part of Ende shown on the Bruine[3] map) so named. This is Wolowai and it is in Ende. I wouldn't be surprised to find any kind of social R organization in this island! What a place to do 614 a real survey. I asked about a few other things 582 in Roworeke. I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage. I thought I had something when the assistant started off saying that an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman. But right away it broke down, as the assistant himself, an Odja, married a Wanda, and his son will marry a Wanda, he says, in line with mother's brother's daughter marriage. Also, Bapa Ketjil, an Odja, married a Rewarangga. So what? He seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this:

Men	married	Women
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]
[2] [probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]

We

582 the previous talk of the tuan tanah that there
614 are preferred clans. I will clinch this when I get the va'u membership of the inmarriers.

The next day I started in on some more question in regard to social organization.

[103] Note that the name of the kampong below is
346 Tjantjar, not as I have spelled it above [Tjantsia]. I went there halfway through the morning as I heard drums and gongs. There were girls (looking very Hawaiian) sitting on the porch of the house next to the new one of the tuan tanah now being built. The timbers are up. It will be a rectangular house, although the one it replaces was round (I made a photo of the latter only a month ago, which shows how fast the old type is vanishing). The drums and gongs were being beaten because this is necessary when a new tuan tanah house (rumah gong-gendang) is being built.

346 There were several drums and several gongs
533 (and I found that each tuan tanah house has
776 several of each). They must be beaten all the
824 time, with short pauses, and the girls take
[562] turns. The men may help too (for garden beating, only men may play the instruments). This has to go on all the time while the big house is being built. The reason is that the wood (always spirit-ridden here) must be constantly kept pacified and told that it is being used for a great purpose, a big house. For ordinary houses this is not necessary. (I wonder if the idea is also in order to get the wood used to being in a rumah gong-gendang?) Before the trees are cut for the wood, they are told that they are being cut for a high purpose. Each grove of trees has a local spirit called darat. These are tree spirits. The generic word for spirit is ro.

778 I notice each day on my way here that there is
776 a grove of fine trees standing isolated on a
824

342 574 123 this area which are round, because the rectangular ones last longer and the people like them on this account, because all of them must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat), and the palm beer, which was milky and strong. I took photographs of them and they were amazed.

342 [103] This is a new kampong, and is merely named six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses, but all of them with partly wooden walls. The assistant says that there are still a fair number of the real old style round houses with no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 592 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house, where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh from the garden, and also some corn cooked by steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc. He is a real host, and his old father talked some. I took photographs of the family, including his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor. Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and he said something about how this is quite usual for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morning on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] 567 Going down the mountains I noticed that the land was largely empty. The road led through the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo. They were sold especially for firearms. Many Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia, because so many slaves were exported. Thus there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-